

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20

USIA-15 SAJ-01 EB-11 SR-02 ORM-03 IO-14 DRC-01 /132 W

----- 117705

R 291058Z APR 74

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2174

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION BERLIN

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 06948

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, GW, PL

SUBJECT: FRG-POLISH RELATIONS

REF: (A) BONN 6745; (B) BONN 5031; (C) STATE 71892

SUMMARY: DIRECTOR OF FOREIGN OFFICE EASTERN EUROPEAN
DESK, FRAU FINKE-OSIANDER, WHO ACCOMPANIED POLITICAL
DIRECTOR VAN WELL TO WARSAW LAST WEEK, HAS CONFIRMED
THAT VAN WELL'S TALKS WITH DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER
CZYREK FAILED TO OVERCOME THE IMPASSE IN FRG-POLISH
RELATIONS. AS INDICATED IN REFTEL (A), THE
GERMANS FEEL THAT THE POLES HAVE SIGNIFICANTLY INCREASED
THEIR FINANCIAL DEMANDS WHILE AT THE SAME TIME SHARPLY
CURTAILING THEIR OFFER TO PERMIT EMIGRATION OF ETHNIC
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GERMANS. FINKE ATTRIBUTES THE POLISH ATTITUDE LARGEMLY

TO DOMESTIC POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS IN POLAND, ALTHOUGH SHE DOES NOT EXCLUDE THE POSSIBILITY THAT POLISH CONSULTATIONS WITH MOSCOW AND EAST BERLIN MAY HAVE RESULTED IN CONSENSUS FAVORING SLOWER AND MORE CAUTIOUS APPROACH TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FRG'S RELATIONS WITH POLAND. BOTH SIDES ARE DETERMINED TO CONTINUE THEIR TALKS ALTHOUGH NO FIRM DATE HAS BEEN SET FOR A RETURN VISIT BY CZYREK. END SUMMARY.

1. FRAU FINKE FOUND THE ATMOSPHERE DURING THE APRIL 23-25 TALKS BETWEEN VAN WELL AND CZYREK RATHER BETTER THAN EXPECTED, GIVEN THE RECENT POLISH PRESS CAMPAIGN AND THE LOW EXPECTATIONS WITH WHICH THE GERMAN DELEGATION ENTERED THE TALKS. HOWEVER, GERMAN PESSIMISM WAS AMPLY JUSTIFIED BY THE SUBSTANCE OF THE POLISH POSITION AS PRESENTED TO THEM.

2. WITH REGARD TO FINANCIAL CLAIMS, THE POLES INDICATED, SOMEWHAT RELUCTANTLY, THAT THEY WOULD BE SATISFIED WITH THE DM ONE BILLION CREDIT ALREADY OFFERED. HOWEVER, THEY ALSO TABLED SUBSTANTIAL DEMANDS WITH RESPECT TO FRG PAYMENT OF PENSIONS TO PERSONS LIVING IN POLAND AND, WHAT WAS MOST DISCOURAGING FROM THE GERMAN POINT OF VIEW, THEY RETURNED WITH PERSISTENCE TO THE THEME THAT THE FRG WOULD HAVE TO MAKE SOME PAYMENTS WHICH WOULD BE CLEARLY EARMARKED FOR THE PURPOSE OF COMPENSATING VICTIMS OF NAZISM. THE TOTAL PACKAGE THE POLES HAD IN MIND, FINKE SAID, WOULD APPEAR TO COME TO SOMETHING IN EXCESS OF DM TWO BILLION.

3. CZYREK MADE CLEAR TO VAN WELL THAT THE FRG COULD NO LONGER HOPE FOR ANYTHING APPROACHING THE FIGURE OF 150 THOUSAND ETHNIC GERMAN EMIGRES. POLAND CURRENTLY ESTIMATED THAT IT MIGHT, UNDER THE APPROPRIATE CIRCUMSTANCES, BE ABLE TO GRANT PERMISSION FOR 60 OR 70 THOUSAND PERSONS TO EMIGRATE. ONCE THAT HAD BEEN DONE, IT WOULD REGARD THE TERMS OF THE "INFORMATION" AS HAVING BEEN FULFILLED. VAN WELL REPLIED THAT SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT WAS ENTIRELY UNACCEPTABLE TO THE FRG AND SIMPLY COULD NOT BE DEFENDED IN TERMS OF WEST GERMAN DOMESTIC

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POLITICS. EVEN IF THE POLES RETURNED TO THE LARGER FIGURE OF 150 THOUSAND, WHICH THE GERMANS THOUGHT HAD BEEN AGREED WITH OLSZOWSKI IN DECEMBER, BONN COULD NOT ACCEPT AN APPROACH WHICH ASSIGNED A DEFINITE NUMERICAL LIMIT TO THE EMIGRATION PROCESS. SO LONG AS APPLICATIONS CONTINUED TO BE MADE BY THOSE PERSONS REGISTERED WITH THE GERMAN RED CROSS AS ETHNIC GERMANS DESIROUS OF LEAVING POLAND, THOSE APPLICATIONS WOULD, IN THE GERMAN VIEW,

HAVE TO BE CONSIDERED ON THEIR MERITS.

4. FINKE SAID THE FOREIGN OFFICE WAS NOW REASONABLY CERTAIN THAT THE UNDERSTANDING REACHED WITH OLSZOWSKI IN DECEMBER HAD FOUNDERED ON THE ROCKS OF POLISH DOMESTIC POLITICS. OLSZOWSKI'S FAILURE TO RETURN TO WARSAW WITH A SUBSTANTIALLY ENLARGED GERMAN FINANCIAL OFFER, ACCORDING TO THIS INTERPRETATION, PROVIDED THE NECESSARY AMMUNITION TO THE FOES OF RAPID POLISH-FRG AGREEMENT ON

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THOSE OUTSTANDING ISSUES. MOREOVER, OLSZOWSKI'S PUBLICLY STATED AGREEMENT TO INITIAL TRANCHE OF 50 THOUSAND ETHNIC GERMAN EMIGRES, WHICH MANY POLES OBVIOUSLY FELT HAD GONE TO FAR, HAD BEEN BASED UPON AN AGREEMENT THAT

FOREIGN MINISTER SCHEEL WOULD USE HIS INFLUENCE WITH FINANCE MINISTER SCHMIDT TO GET THE GERMAN CREDIT OFFER ENLARGED. THE POLISH POSITION WAS THAT WHEN THIS FAILED TO HAPPEN THEY WERE ABSOLVED FROM OLSZOWSKI'S UNDERTAKING.

5. FINKE REFERRED TO PRESS SPECULATION THAT THE CURRENT TROUBLES BETWEEN BONN AND WARSAW BEGAN IN EARNEST FOLLOWING OLSZOWSKI'S FEBRUARY VISIT TO MOSCOW. SHE SAID THAT SHE HAD DISCUSSED THIS MATTER WITH A NUMBER OF CONTACTS IN WARSAW AND HAD CONCLUDED THAT IT

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WAS UNLIKELY THAT THE SOVIETS AND THE GDR WERE PRESSURING THE POLES IN ANY VERY SPECIFIC WAY TO SLOW DOWN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE FRG. IT SEEMED MORE LIKELY THAT THERE WAS GENERAL AGREEMENT AMONG THE THREE THAT, IN VIEW OF THE DIFFICULTIES WHICH HAD ALREADY ARisen, IT MIGHT BE PREFERABLE TO MOVE SLOWLY AND CAUTIOUSLY, PERHAPS POSTPONING ANY DECISIVE ACTIONS TO RESOLVE THE IMPASSE UNTIL AFTER THE CONCLUSION OF CSCE.

6. ONE ADDITIONAL DEVELOPMENT HERE IN THE FRG DESERVES MENTION. THE APRIL 30 EDITION OF THE "SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG" REPORTS A DECISION BY THE "SOCIAL COURT" OF NORTH RHINE-WESTPHALIA TO THE EFFECT THAT THE FRG IS OBLIGED TO MEET PENSION CLAIMS BY RESIDENTS OF THE FORMER EASTERN TERRITORIES WHO ARE OTHERWISE ENTITLED TO A GERMAN PENSION. ACCORDING TO THE PRESS REPORT (WE HAVE NOT YET HAD TIME TO EXAMINE THE COURT DECISION IN DETAIL), THE COURT DECIDED THAT FOR THE PURPOSES OF GERMAN PENSION LAW THE EASTERN TERRITORIES, AFTER JUNE 3, 1972 (THE DATE WHEN THE POLISH-FRG TREATY ENTERED INTO FORCE), HAD TO BE REGARDED AS FOREIGN TERRITORY. ACCORDINGLY, THE FRG COULD NO LONGER JUSTIFY A REFUSAL TO PAY PENSIONS TO RESIDENTS OF THOSE TERRITORIES ON THE GROUNDS THEY LIVED IN A KIND OF LIMBO WHICH WAS NEITHER FOREIGN NOR DOMESTIC. THE ARTICLE IN THE "SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG" CONCLUDED THAT, IF THE FRG IS HENCEFORTH OBLIGED TO PAY PENSIONS TO ETHNIC GERMANS IN POLAND, THIS CAN NO LONGER SERVE AS AN EFFECTIVE SUBJECT OF NEGOTIATION BETWEEN BONN AND WARSAW. FRAU FINKE IS QUITE SURE THAT THE FOREIGN OFFICE AND THE WEST GERMAN LABOR MINISTRY (WHICH IS RESPONSIBLE FOR PENSIONS) WILL NOT ACCEPT THIS CONCLUSION. FOR ONE THING, THE DECISION OF THE COURT IN NORTH RHINE-WESTPHALIA WILL UNDOUBTEDLY BE APPEALED TO THE FEDERAL LEVEL. BEYOND THAT, HOWEVER, FINKE DOES NOT BELIEVE THAT THE COURT'S FINDING WITH REGARD TO THE NATURE OF THE EASTERN TERRITORIES CAN NECESSARILY OBLIGE THE LABOR MINISTRY TO PAY PENSIONS TO

ANY SPECIFIC GROUP OF PEOPLE. THIS IS OBVIOUSLY A
COMPLICATED ISSUE ON WHICH WE SHALL REPORT FURTHER AS IT
DEVELOPS. WE ARE MENTIONING IT IN THIS SKETCHY INITIAL
FORM BECAUSE IT DOES HAVE AN OBVIOUS POTENTIAL BEARING
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ON FRG-POLISH NEGOTIATIONS.
HILLENBRAND

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptoning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: REPATRIATION, NEGOTIATIONS, CREDIT AGREEMENTS, EMIGRANTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 29 APR 1974
Decapton Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decapton Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: golinofr
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974BONN06948
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740103-0328
From: BONN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t1974047/aaaaaftu.tel
Line Count: 235
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: (A) BONN 6745; (B) BONN 5031; (C) ST, ATE 71892
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: golinofr
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 01 APR 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <01 APR 2002 by boyleja>; APPROVED <11 JUN 2002 by golinofr>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: FRG-POLISH RELATIONS
TAGS: PFOR, GE, PL
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005